

Senator Bilbo of Mississippi Still Fights For 'Return' Of Negroes To Home In Africa

Says Abraham Lincoln Attempted To Work Out Plan He Has For Prolific Blacks

Says Too Many Crossing The Color Line

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—Mississippi's Bilbo is at it again. Introducing in the Congressional Record an article written by him and published in the "Living Age," the senator again emphasizes his "Back to Africa" movement.

Declaring that such outstanding figures as Elmer Carter, editor of "Opportunity," and member of one of the important boards in New York state, and Judge Myles A. Paige are advocates of and endorse the movement, Bilbo relates the entire story of his part in the movement and attempts to put the first movement and its results squarely in the lap of Abraham Lincoln.

"The impression prevails in the minds of some people that my proposal for the repatriation of the Negro is a product of so-called 'Southern prejudice.' The fact is that my record of more than 20 years in public office, including eight years as governor of Mississippi, will confirm the statement that I have always acted fairly and sympathetically toward the Negro," said Mr. Bilbo.

Mr. Bilbo goes into a discussion of the educational opportunities of the lack of them in his state for Negroes and grows sentimental and sympathetic.

"Educational facilities here for colored children are not as good as might wish to see. There is a growing discontent among the Negroes because schools for the colored are not the equal of the white schools in the South. The Negro complains that his schools are the poorest in the country; that housing accommodations for colored pupils are neglected; that colored teachers are poorly trained.

"I am one of a large number of sympathetic southerners who sincerely wish we could do better educationally by our young Negroes. But there are so many of them. By nature a prolific race the Negro in the balmy Southland perpetuates at so rapid a rate

riages between the blacks and whites.

"It has been said by good authorities that there are today about 20,000 Negro boys and Negro girls annually crossing the color line. That is to say, a Negro boy is a mulatto and looks white, so he goes where he is not known and marries a white girl. The mulatto or white-colored girl, goes where she is not known and marries a white man. Who, then, in the face of this can say that we are not gradually heading for the eventual amalgamation unless steps are taken for the physical separation of the two races?"

In speaking of the proponents of his bill for the "repatriation of Negroes," Bilbo refers to the president of the Ethiopian league as "M. M. L. Gordon, of Chicago, a Negro woman of prodigious foresight and rugged enthusiasm for the welfare and integrity of her race." At no time does he do her the courtesy in referring to her to give her the title of Miss or Mrs., either of which she is entitled.

"In my state we have 100,000 more colored children of school age than of white school children. It seems ironic that we have only 6,000 colored teachers as compared with 10,000 white teachers.

The ratio appears inversely proportioned, and it is. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the bulk of the tax burden falls on white shoulders. A relatively small percentage indeed is paid by the Negro population. All things considered, we have done as well as we could reasonably afford to provide education for colored children and hospitals for the Negro and his family.

"All the education in the world, however, cannot erase the physical and mental differences that divide the two races. The 'color line' while serving as a deterrent to intermarriage in regions where it is enforced, cannot prevent illegal miscegenation. The facts speak for themselves. The most authentic records reveal, and one has but to look around among the colored population to see, that about one third of the negroid citizens of our country are Negroes with white admixtures—mulattoes, quadroons and octoroons. Nineteen states in the Union and also the District of Columbia even give legal sanction to intermar-

A Letter And A Challenge To Theodore Bilbo, of Mississippi

BY WILLIAM PICKENS FOR ANP

In the press releases, June date, of the Associated Negro Press, of Chicago, you are quoted in new advocacy of the return of the most American part of our population to the American Negroes to the poor statesmanship of that proposal is too evident to need attack. But we are more interested in your statements about the poor school facilities in Mississippi for its Negro children. You acknowledge that the less than \$1 out of \$10.00 paid for the Negro child's education is not fair, and that the much less than half salaries paid to the Negro teachers need improving. But you only say that in order to make this false a policy:

"The bulk of the tax burden falls on white shoulders. A relatively small percentage indeed is paid by the Negro population."

You are a senator of the United States, and I dislike very much being forced into a position where I must seem to imply that you are either very ignorant or very dishonest; for since so many others labor under the same delusion, it seems unfair to charge you with the dishonesty; and a senator of our country could hardly be very ignorant. And yet the statement people, white, black, or whatever color or race, that does not get the tax receipts does not pay taxes, is economically speaking a very absurd statement.

The tax, the indirect tax, which is the only necessary tax, is paid by the people, some of whom never got a tax receipt in their lifetime and a few of whom (in places like Mississippi) have not even intelligence enough to know that there is a tax paid or a tax collector's office; those who work for wages, pay the tax out of their wages, before it is labeled as "wage;" and they who buy what they consume, pay all costs on what they buy and consume, tax and all other costs. The man who buys and wears out a pair of shoes has paid all processing, all taxes, and all disks on that pair of shoes. The cow-raiser's tax and fees and profits; the railroad's tax, and costs and risks, on hauling the cow from Mississippi to a Chicago packing house; the packing house's tax and costs on THAT

pair of shoes; the tannery tax and costs, and all manufacturing and processing taxes, and all other costs.

That is the only reason why a piece of cowhide, worth less than ten cents when it was on the cow in Mississippi, becomes more than \$10.00 when it is on the feet of the colored principal of one of Mississippi's poorly supported Negro schools.

When you mean now is the time white persons are at the end of the economic line where the money is advanced to the government and the receipts handed out. White people get the receipts, of course. The population, white and black, PAYS for all the receipts. A white man who rents 100 houses to Negroes, hands the money to the tax office, gets the receipt for taxes, and sticks out his chest as a big "tax payer"; but in fact the 100 Negro families pay all the taxes and all other costs on all those houses, plus profits for the economic "owner."

Henry Ford does not pay the taxes on the million cars he manufactures in a year; he advances the money to the government treasury, and the people, white and other colors, who buy and use-up these cars, pay the taxes,—as truly as they also pay for the leather, the wood, the rubber the advertising the wages, and the PROFITS, which Henry Ford makes on the deal. But Ford gets receipt. The receipt goes out by the economic law; the burden is fixed by larger societal laws.

Would you like to debate this question about the incidence and the burden of taxes say, in Madison Square Garden, New York City? So many people are so ignorant about this matter of the real burden of the public taxes, that it would be a great contribution to correct public thinking.

If you wish to do so, I should be happy to be your foil for the evening. We could take 45 minutes for leading speeches, and then follow each other in two separate rebuttal periods of 10 or 15 minutes for each speaker, in each rebuttal period.

Very sincerely yours,
William Pickens.

P. S.—The debate would consider

the whole field of Negro-white relations in America, if you prefer.

BIDS TO BILBO

We have heard nothing of Senator (The Man) Bilbo's insane scheme to ship our people back to Africa (where they've never been) since his ranting in the Senate last year, but we may expect a revival of this talk if prominent Negroes like Elmer A. Carter and Magistrate Myles Paige of New York City continue to emphasize the possibility of such wholesale emigration.

They got up before a group of Negroes in Harlem last week and, after painting a gloomy picture of the Negroes' plight, suggested the possibility of these unfortunates being shipped to the Dark Continent if they continued to be a relief burden.

Some years ago a Negro physician in Kansas City, now safely esconced in a government berth, let out a mournful cry about syphilis among Negroes, with the result that hundreds of poor Negro domestics were fired summarily by frightened white employers.

There are more white people than are generally imagined who believe in emigration and are glad to have it brought up, especially by Negroes themselves. No doubt Senator Bilbo was delighted with the Paige-Carter chanting of the blues.

These two gentlemen—one a State Unemployment Insurance Appeal Commissioner and editor of the magazine "Opportunity," and the other a New York City magistrate—are, or believe themselves to be, immune from enforced emigration to Africa and can discuss the possibility with sleek and complacent detachment.

They doubtless meant well, but there is such a thing as carrying Wolf-Wolfing too far.

Magistrate Paige talked vaguely of the necessity of "fighting our way through or we'll get our passage back," while Mr. Carter found nothing absurd in the possibility of such enforced emigration because Hitler had demonstrated the feasibility of such a step.

We predict Senator Bilbo will be heard from again.

Predicts U. S. Might Deport Colored Race

Group Faces Danger Of Deportation To Africa, Writer Says

NEW YORK, Feb. (ANP)—Elmer A. Carter, editor of Opportunity magazine and member of the New York State Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board, in a "warning" to Negroes, spoken to over 100 Negroes, whites, at the Catholic Laymen's Union meeting at the Harlem YMCA

Virginians Thanked for "Back to Africa" Aid

Norfolk, Va. Pilot
January 27, 1940

Thanks Expressed For Plan to Aid Liberia Movement

RICHMOND, Va. — Governor Price was recently presented a letter from organizations representing 3,000,000 Negroes by Earnest Sevier Cox, white, purporting to thank Virginians for their memorial to Congress urging Federal aid in the Greater Liberia Movement, which has been announced this week by Mr. Cox.

Mr. Cox has taken a leading part in efforts to have Congress aid in the development of Liberia as a haven for American Negroes who might wish to return to Africa.

Mr. Cox wrote several treatises on the race question and one book in particular, "White America," advocated the return of Negroes to Africa as the best solution of the race question.

The letters of thanks, which were presented to the Governor in the presence of Speaker Ashton and Senator Henry T. Wickham, president pro tem of the Senate, were from the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Peace Movement of Ethiopia, National Union for People of African Descent, and a separate group of Virginia Negroes. The letters were signed by 2,000 persons representing these groups.

Mr. Cox has advocated the establishment of a Negro republic in Africa where the race should be permitted to work out its own destiny. His philosophy has been that the white and colored races can best develop in a territory inhabited solely or in the majority by its own people.

The so-called "Back to Africa" movement several years ago sponsored by the Marcus Garvey organization, met with stiff opposition from a large and influential group of intelligent Negroes. One of their arguments was that Africa was already in the possession of several European nations and since that time Italy has taken over one of the old independent Negro nations.

A second argument of the opposition was that the natives of Africa could do more to rid Africa of the domination of European nations than outsiders.

Richmond, Jan. 26.—(AP)—Ernest Sevier Cox, of Richmond, a writer on Negro relations and friend of the Liberia movement, today presented communications to Governor Price from organizations which he said represented some 3,000,000 American Negroes, expressing appreciation for the 1936 Virginia memorial to Congress requesting Federal aid for Negroes who desire to settle in Liberia.

"Internal evidence in these communications will reveal a belief that the Virginia memorial to the Congress proved to be of decisive influence in promoting the several steps which led to the introduction of the greater Liberia bill in the Senate, April 24, 1939," Cox's statement to the Governor said. "When the Negro petitions in support of this bill were presented to the Senate it was officially stated that 2,500,000 names were on the list. Some Negro delegates were in the Senate gallery. Since that time their movement has grown substantially."

The letters of thanks, presented to the Governor in the presence of Speaker Ashton Dovell, of the House of Delegates, and Senator Henry T. Wickham, president pro tem of the Senate, were from the Universal Negro Improvement Association, the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, the National Union for People of African Descent, and a separate group of Virginia Negroes. There were about 2,000 names appended to the "letters of thanks," the addresses indicating more than half were Virginians.

BILBO'S PETITIONS

ARTHUR HALE, radio commentator, in his broadcast last Thursday night, quoted Senator Bilbo of Mississippi as saying that he has secured more than 2,000,000 signatures to petitions from Negroes who would like to return to Africa if the government can arrange a resettlement project in Liberia. The radio commentator said that a large percentage of these signatures were obtained in Harlem and northern industrial centers.

When a fellow Senator queried the Mississippian as to why he was so anxious to get Negroes out of the country, he is reported to have replied, to keep them from returning to the Republican party.

For a long time we considered Senator Bilbo's project as a joke but if there is any degree of truth in the statement that he has more than 2,000,000 signatures of Negroes who would like to immigrate to Africa, it is being taken more seriously than we supposed. It must be encouraging to Senator Bilbo to read some of our best trained leaders conceding that the government has the right to deport its citizens.

Negroes who would like to live in Africa or any other country are free to do so without the government passing any such special legislation which to our way of thinking is unconstitutional. There are many problems of greater importance for the solons to consider, and among these is the Anti-lynching bill.

Perhaps there would be fewer Negroes who want to leave the country if Negroes in all sections of the country were given guarantees of trial by juries instead of by mobs when accused of a crime.

Back To Africa Talk

Every once and a while some individual comes out with the "Back To Africa Movement" for our people. Bilbo, of Mississippi used the idea apparently to get national publicity and to make himself popular with his own state, but got no where.

The latest outburst is that of Elmer A. Carter, Opportunity Magazine editor and member of the New State Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board. According to the New York Age, Carter delivered an address to the Catholic Laymen's Union at the Harlem Y.M.C.A. The New York Age said the following in speaking of Mr. Carter's address:

The speaker pictured American Negroes as facing the dangers of deportation to Africa if they become permanent relief dependents.

More than one hundred Negroes and ten whites heard the Unemployment Insurance official point out that there was nothing surprising or unexpected in the possibility of "transplantation" of the Negro back to Africa in the future. Carter said that Hitler had shown that such a movement could be successfully effected. Claiming the country would have to support 13,000,000 or more persons permanently unemployed in the future, Carter said the Negroes are the largest racial group on relief and are returning to private industry more slowly than any other group. The Negro is "yet to face his greatest crisis," Carter said.

Mr. Carter may have data to back up his contentions, but we would rather not agree with him. He is a specialist in the field of Unemployment and should be in the position to make fairly accurate predictions, but we feel that he is going to have to do a lot of research to convince our people that they can be deported back to Africa. The Negro is American through and through just as others and will stay here to fight the problems of life just as others. In the first place, we would like for Mr. Carter to tell us who is going to send the Negro back to Africa?

Elmer Carter Predicts That U.S. Will Deport Negroes Back to Africa

NEW YORK, (ANP).—Elmer A. Carter, editor of Opportunity magazine and member of the New York State Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board, in a "warning" to Negroes, spoken to over 100 Negroes, whites, at the Catholic Laymen's Union meeting at the Harlem Y.M.C.A. Sunday, said that the Negro of America faced the danger of deportation to Africa if they became permanent relief recipients.

Harlem leaders and citizens are exceedingly angry at Mr. Carter for his speech in which he pointed out that there was nothing surprising or unexpected in the possibility of the "transplan-

tation" of the Negro back in Africa. Justifying his remarks by saying more than 13,000,000 persons would have to be placed on relief because of unemployment in the future. Mr. Carter said Negroes were the largest racial group on the relief rolls. "Hitler has shown that such a movement could be successfully effected," he stated.

Separate State for Colored People

A Swiss Visitor Looks at America and Tells What

Baltimore We Have to Do or Else - *Maryland*

By OLLIE STEWART

"The only way out for the black man in America is a separate State for colored people. If they can't get that, they ought to leave and go to some other country!"

The speaker was a white man, about 40, who was born in Switzerland but has lived in the United States for five years. He is the author of several books, and previous to coming to America, was a professor of history in Switzerland and Germany.

I met him a few nights ago, shortly before midnight. He was about to sail for South America—for Brazil, to be exact.

What's Wrong?

"What's wrong with colored people in America?" he continued, when I made no answer to his unexpected statement. "Why don't they wake up? Why can't they realize what's happening to them?"

"They know what's happening to them," I told him. "They know all about segregation and discrimination, and how many privileges they should be enjoying, that are denied them. There are a dozen organizations to remind them, there are newspapers, and people making speeches, and thousands of young people in high schools and colleges. They know, all right."

Do Something

"Well, why the hell," said the man from Switzerland, "don't they do something about it?"

And I could not, for the life of me, tell him.

Oh, I tried explaining this and that, but everything I said sounded even staler, to me, than a beer left over from yesterday.

I told him about the colored man's Progress Exposition held this year in Chicago, and how it was hoped through this medium

of high-lighting his contributions to American life, the colored man might be shown worthy of more consideration.

What's Being Done

I maintained that by an intelligent use of the ballot, the colored man is doing something to better his condition. I mentioned several outstanding business concerns owned and operated by our group, as examples of how a mi-

nority group is making itself more economically secure.

Court battles for equalization of teachers' salaries in Maryland and Virginia, legal fights by the NAACP to force Southern States to open State universities to colored students, representation on juries, on the police force of a hundred cities, and membership in progressive organizations—these and many other instances were cited, but when I had run out of breath in telling him, I knew somehow that it didn't add up to much. I was sure of it with his next question.

Protecting Women

"Can you protect your women?"

I wanted to tell a lie. No man likes to admit helplessness in such a touchy situation. But I couldn't lie. It wouldn't have done any good, trying to fool either myself or the man from Switzerland. I knew too many people you couldn't tell from white, and in five years I knew he must have seen lots of them too.

"No, we can't protect our women,"

"Well, I don't need to tell you," he said, "that the barometer of any race is its women-folk. All of us go up or down, according to them—and according to statistics, 90 per cent of all colored women who work, have to accept domestic service. You know what that means—and has meant to your people."

Yes, I knew, all right.

Lynching Cited

"And can you stop lynching?" continued the man who has had five years of looking at American democracy through Swiss eyes.

"No, we can't stop lynching."

"And what about the war?"

"Well, it's like this about the war. We're American citizens and we've always been loyal in every war this country has ever fought. This time our young men will register and be drafted for training, just like all other Americans—and if this country goes to war, we'll fight."

After the War?

"And after the war?"

"After the war we hope things will be better."

"I hope so," said the man from Switzerland, "but I doubt it. The American white man has the upper hand, and he means to keep it. He has the money, the ammunition, the guns, and sense

enough to keep you fooled so that he can stay on top without too much trouble.

Separation Suggested

"Colored people will never be given equality—as long as they mingle with whites. If the country were divided up, a part for white and a part for colored, both could meet on equal terms. Failing agreement to that, colored ought to get out and go somewhere else."

That's what he said, and I didn't have any answer for him. Maybe I'm slow on the up-take and should have batted his ears down with a smart come-back, but I haven't thought of one yet.

Maybe he's got something. Or maybe somebody would like to tell me what I should have said.